Towards Realization

Reg. No. B3092

HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

VOL. XI, No. 22 AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 29, 1947 TWO ANNAS

NON-VIOLENCE

[The following is from Gandhiji's written message for the prayer gathering on 15-6-'47. — S. N.]

I would love to attempt an answer to a question which has been addressed to me from more than one quarter of the globe. It is:

How can you account for the growing violence among your people on the part of political parties for the furtherance of political ends? Is this the result of the thirty years of non-violent practice for ending British rule? Does your message of non-violence still hold good for the world? I have condensed the sentiments of my correspondents in my own language.

In answer I must confess my bankruptcy, not that of non-violence. I have already said that the non-violence that was offered during the past thirty years was that of the weak. Whether it is a good enough answer or not is for others to judge. It must be further admitted that such non-violence can have no play in the altered circumstances. India has no experience of the non-violence of the strong. It serves no purpose for me to continue to repeat that the non-violence of the strong is the strongest force in the world. The truth requires constant and extensive demonstration. This I am endeavouring to do to the best of my ability. What if the best of my ability is very little? May I not be living in a fool's paradise? Why should I ask people to follow me in the fruitless search? These are pertinent questions. My answer is quite simple. I ask nobody to follow me. Everyone should follow his or her own inner voice. If he or she has no ears to listen to it, he or she should do the best he or she can. In no case should he or she imitate others sheep-like.

One more question has been and is being asked. If you are sure that India is going the wrong way, why do you associate with the wrong-doers? Why do you not plough your own lonely furrow and have faith that if you are right, your erstwhile friends and followers will seek you out? I regard this as a very fair question. I must not attempt to argue against it. All I can say is that my faith is as strong as ever. It is quite possible that my technique is faulty. There are old and tried precedents to guide one in such a complexity. Only, no one should act mechanically. Hence I can say to all my counsellors that they should have patience with me and even share my belief that there is no hope for the aching world except through the narrow and straight path of non-violence. Millions like me may fail to prove the truth in their own lives, that would be their failure, never of the eternal law.

NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

The Congress President in his concluding speech at the A. I. C. C. had said that Gandhiji had not been able to show the way of combating communal strife in a non-violent manner as he had done in the case of fighting the British. Gandhiji had said that he was groping in the dark and though he said that he was solving the Hindu-Muslim problem for the whole of India by his work in Noakhali and Bihar, he (the President) had not been able to understand how the technique could be applied on a mass scale. That was why he was not standing with Gandhiji that day and had agreed to the partition of India.

Gandhiji's reply was that his groping in the dark referred to the fact that he did not know how to make the people see his view-point. He had no doubt that non-violence was as effective a weapon against communal strife as it had proved in their struggle against the British. The people had followed him then, because they knew they could not face the might of British arms in any other way. It was the non-violence of the weak. That won't serve the purpose in communal strife. For that was required pure non-violence of the brave.

Speaking in the prayer meeting Gandhiji said that while he admitted his impotency regarding the spread of the *ahimsa* of the brave and the strong as distinguished from that of the weak, the admission was not meant to imply that he did not know how that inestimable virtue was to be cultivated. Consciousness of the living presence of God within one was undoubtedly the first requisite. Acquisition of this consciousness did not require or mean temple-going. The daily recitation, however, carried with it certain well-defined implications. Assuming that the millions of India daily recited at a given time the name of God as Rama, Allah, Khuda, Ahura Mazda and Jehovah but the recitation was not free from drunkenness, debauchery, gambling on the market or in gambling dens, black-marketing etc., the *Ramadhun* was a vain and inglorious effort. One with a wicked heart could never be conscious of the all-purifying presence of God. Therefore it was truer (if it was a fact) to

say that India was not ready for the lesson of the *ahimsa* of the strong than that no programme had been devised for the teaching. It would be perfectly just to say that the programme just mentioned for the *ahimsa* of the strong was not as attractive as that devised for the non-violence of the weak had proved to be. He hoped that at least his hearers who daily attended the prayer meetings would lead the way in expressing in their lives the *ahimsa* of the strong.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47 S. N.

A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. XI, No. 14, Page 139)

[20 and 21 are by Dr. R. F. Rattray (*Alcohol-drinking*) published by the Cambridge United Temperance Council. —V. G. D.]

20

Motoring has made the old standards of sobriety entirely out of date. The motor vehicle is highly lethal. Would you license public-houses along our railway lines for the use of engine-drivers? If an engine-driver is known to drink before driving, he is punished. If he is known to do it twice, he is severely punished. Yet the difference between the risks on the railways and on the roads is simply overwhelming. The railway train is limited to rails and controlled by signals: the motor vehicle can move in any direction and is controlled by signals only at busy crossings. Motorists kill more people in one year than all the railways in Great Britain and Ireland have killed since railways were started. The bearing of alcohol on the problem has been publicly acknowledged in the Highway Code and in the report of the committee appointed by the British Medical Association. Professor Widmark, of the University of Lund in Sweden, pointed out that the only scientific test of intoxication is the blood test . . . The degree of *intoxication* is directly proportionate to the amount of alcohol a person had absorbed into his blood. Professor Widmark found that the amount of alcohol in the blood that constitutes a person a danger to the public while driving a motor vehicle is ·1%. Notice the small quantity of alcohol that is necessary to make a motorist a danger — one thousandth part of the blood content. Professor Widmark's test has been accepted in law courts in Sweden, Norway, Germany, Switzerland, the United States of America — and in London. In Norway no one is allowed to drive a motor vehicle within eight hours of his having taken any alcohol at all.

21

The main answer to the contention that alcohol-drinking confers benefit by its paying large sums in taxation is, that when people are turned out of public-houses, the public has to pay for the consequences of their alcohol-drinking — in lowered efficiency, in accidents, hospitals, cost of public assistance to the poor, loss of working time, the influence on illness and diseases (think of the incurring of venereal disease) cost in law courts, prisons, mental hospitals.

PATTING OURSELVES ON THE BACK

In a preface to a brochure on the work of the Congress Ministries, Acharya Jugal Kishore, the General Secretary of the Congress, states that "a careful perusal of the pages of this brochure will, I hope, convince the unprejudiced reader, that the achievements of the Congress Ministries within such a short period of less than one year, have not been inconsiderable." It will depend upon what we look for as the goal and the fulfilment of a popular ministry. The Congress manifesto made all manner of promises to alleviate the distress of the masses. It is not possible at this stage to go into a detailed examination of items on the programme of the various Congress Ministries. But even one who runs may read that there is evident a lack of coordinated policies. Various Governments are following their own whims and fancies.

The Central Government is pursuing the scheme of a fertilizer factory at Sindhri. But they have not taken the trouble to organize a soil inspecting squad all over the country to enable chemical fertilizers to be applied scientifically and according to prescription. Merely placing tons of fertilizers in the hands of farmers, who have not been accustomed to the use of such materials, and who have no means of analyzing the soil and ascertaining their requirements, will be like giving sugar-coated quinine pills in the hands of a little child, and it will have an equally tragic result. These fertilizer factories will prove a bane to the farmers if their use is not scientifically controlled and regulated. If the Government were really interested in the farmers and had a policy to regulate the use of this product, they should first of all form their service squad to help the proper utilization of fertilizers. Instead, they are concentrating purely on the production, ownership and management of huge producing units and spending public money on these enterprises.

While the Government of Bombay is seriously considering taking legislative action to ban the production of *vanaspati*, the sister province of Madras is planning to have nine more factories from next year, four in Andhra Desh, four in Tamil Nad and one in Malabar. Of these the Government hopes to run at least one.

If the country is to be led by responsible Governments, it is essential that the responsible Governments themselves should be clear in their minds as to what things are not good for the people. It cannot mean that a Congress Ministry in one province holds *vanaspati* to be bad enough to be banned, another Congress Ministry considers it *amrit*-like to be promoted by themselves. We cannot look forward to any progress as long as such a policy of drift holds the field. We need a properly coordinated policy for the whole country. Is it too late for the Constructive Programme Committee to assert itself and declare the policy that should be followed for the benefit of the whole country?

J. C. KUMARAPPA

STORY HOUR

(*Continued from Vol. XI, No. 18, Page 173*)

[The following is from *Tajrid-ul-Bukhari* translated into Urdu by Allama Husain bin Mubarak, which I was able to look into, thanks to the kindness of my friend, Dr. M. Hafiz Syed of Allahabad University. — V. G. D.]

XVII

When he died, the Prophet left behind him neither coin, nor slave, nor anything else except his white mule and his weapons and a piece of land which he had given away in charity.

XVIII

Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was once disgusted with having to grind corn like any other poor woman. Therefore, when she heard that some prisoners of war had been handed over to the Prophet, she went to her father in the hope that he would let her have one of these as her domestic slave, but found that he was not at home. So she told her step-mother Ayisha why she had come, and returned to her house. When the Prophet came home, Ayisha told him how Fatima had come to ask for a slave. Thereupon the Prophet went to Fatima and said, "I have come to give you some good advice which is more precious than any number of slave girls, and it is this. When you retire at night, say *Allah-u-Akbar* (God is great) 34 times, *Subhan-Allah* 33 times and *al-hamd-ul-Allah* 33 times."

XIX

The Prophet once went to his daughter's house but came back without seeing Fatima who told her husband Ali about this unexpected incident. When Ali went to the Prophet and asked him, he replied, "I saw a silk curtain hanging on her door and so came away." When Fatima was told the reason for the Prophet's displeasure, she asked him what he then expected her to do. "Send the curtain away," he said, "to So-and-so who is in need."

XX

The Prophet said, "That man incurs God's greatest displeasure who is extremely quarrelsome."

XXI

The Prophet said, "God appoints somebody to rule over a number of subjects. Then if he does not protect them and promote their welfare, he will not be able to enjoy the fragrance of paradise."

XXII

The Prophet said, "God likes men to be gentle on every occasion."

XXIII

A man once asked the Prophet for religious instruction. He replied, "Do not give way to anger." The man repeated his question several times; and each time the Prophet said, "Do not give way to anger."

XXIV

The Prophet said, "It is incumbent on one who believes in Allah and in the Day of Judgment, that he should not injure his neighbour."

XXV

A woman of bad character was pardoned by God only on account of one meritorious deed on her part. By the side of a well she once found a dog who was licking dust and was on the point of dying of thirst. She managed to draw some water from the well by improvising a rope out of her clothing, gave it to the dog and thus saved its life.

SWADESHI

[The following is from Gandhiji's post-prayer speech on 20-6-'47. —S. N.]

I am told that with the advent of *swadeshi raj* in the shape of *swaraj*, the spirit of *swadeshi* is fast disappearing from the land. The stock of *khadi* is perhaps at its lowest. It is no unusual sight to see what are called Gandhi *topies* worn by men who are otherwise clad in *paradeshi*. If that is true on any large scale, the dearly loved liberty, in my opinion, would be short-lived. Goodbye then to the hope of India becoming the Light of Asia, as by right it should be. *Paradeshi* goes side by side with luxury which a correspondent says is rampant everywhere. I fondly hope that whilst the tragic picture might be true of the cities of India, it is not so of the villages, if only because they were famishing.

Immediately after my return to India in 1915 I discovered that the centre of *swadeshi* lay in *khadi*. If *khadi* goes, I contended even then, there is no *swadeshi*. I have shown that the manufactures in Indian mills do not constitute *swadeshi*. To that belief I cling even today.

Think of the bonfire of foreign cloth we had during our first national struggle. Shri Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru threw their fineries in it. Pandit Motilal Nehru later wrote from jail that he had found true happiness in the simplicity and purity of *khadi*. It is sad that that spirit does not exist today. The *charkha* is the centre of our tricolour flag. It is the symbol of unity and the non-violent strength of the millions. The yarn spun by the *charkha*, I consider to be the cementing force which can bind those whom the three colours of the flag represent. That is why I have said that the whole fabric of Swaraj hangs on a thread of the handspun yarn and have called the *charkha* our mightiest weapon. Where is that wheel today ?

I have already reminded you that if you have the *swadeshi* spirit in you, you will refuse to look to the West for the supply of your major wants. I have no quarrel in this time of extreme scarcity if India imports foodstuffs and cloth from outside, provided it is proved that India is wholly unable to supply the two wants from within India. This is in no way proved. I have not hesitated to say and I would repeat that India is fully able to manufacture her own *khadi* and grow her own foodstuffs in her numerous villages. But alas ! the people have become too lazy to look inward and insist on supplying these two wants from within India's borders. I will go even so far as to say that I will face starvation and nakedness rather than look to the West to supply the two needs. Without grim determination it is not possible to do the right thing.

HARIJAN

June 29 1947

TOWARDS REALIZATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What is the mark of him who has Rama enthroned in his heart? If we do not know this, there is danger of *Ramanama* being much misinterpreted. Some misinterpretation is already in existence. Many sport rosaries and put the sacred mark on the forehead and vainly babble His name. It may well be asked whether I am not adding to the current hypocrisy by continued insistence on *Ramanama*. I must not be deterred by such forebodings. Silence thus brought about is harmful. The living voice of silence needs to be backed by prolonged heartfelt practice. In the absence of such natural silence, we must try to know the marks of him who has Rama in his heart.

A devotee of Rama may be said to be the same as the steadfast one (*sthitapragnya*) of the *Gita*. If one goes a little deeper it will be seen that a true devotee of God faithfully obeys the five elemental forces of nature. If he so obeys, he will not fall ill. If perchance he does, he will cure himself with the aid of the elementals. It is not for the dweller in the body to get the body cured anyhow — he who believes that he is nothing but body will naturally wander to the ends of the earth in order to cure the body of its ills. But he who realizes that the soul is something apart from, though in the body, that it is imperishable in contrast to the perishable body, will not be perturbed nor mourn if the elementals fail. On the contrary he will welcome death as a friend. He will become his own healer instead of seeking for medical men. He will live in the consciousness of the soul within and look to the care, first and last, of the indweller.

Such a man will take God's name with every breath. His Rama will be awake even whilst the body is asleep. Rama will always be with him in whatever he does. The real death for such a devoted man will be the loss of this sacred companionship.

As an aid to keeping his Rama with him, he will take what the five elementals have to give him. That is to say he will employ the simplest and easiest way of deriving all the benefit he can from earth, air, water, sunlight and ether. This aid is not complementary to *Ramanama*. It is but a means of its realization. *Ramanama* does not in fact require any aid. But to claim belief in *Ramanama* and at the same time to run to doctors do not go hand in hand.

A friend versed in religious lore who read my remarks on *Ramanama* sometime ago wrote to say that *Ramanama* is an alchemy such as can transform the body. The conservation of the vital energy has been likened to accumulated wealth, but it is in the power of *Ramanama* alone to make it a running stream of ever-increasing spiritual strength ultimately making a fall impossible.

Just as the body cannot exist without blood, so the soul needs the matchless and pure strength of faith. This strength can renovate the weakness of all man's physical organs. That is why it is said that when *Ramanama* is enshrined in the heart, it means the rebirth of man. This law applies to the young, the old, man and woman alike.

This belief is to be found in the West too. Christian sciences give a glimpse of it. In this issue of the *Harijan* Rajkumari has given apt illustrations culled from a book written by Seventh Day Adventists.

India needs no outside support for a belief which has been handed down to her people from time immemorial.

Haradwar, 21-6-'47

(From the original in Gujarati)

FROM AMERICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Richard Gregg writes from U. S. A.:

"Today's New York newspaper carries a dispatch from New Delhi stating that you have given up hope of living for 125 years and that there is no place for you in India because of the deluge of violence. If this report is substantially correct, I beg you, please reconsider your attitude. As I see the matter there is far more at stake than present violence in India, even if this should last for fifteen years.

"India is the source of the deepest and strongest spiritual insight and culture in the world. It is also the most enduring. Despite the grave harm that has been done to Hindu culture by the modern loss of religion and contact with the West which so fully embodies that secularism, Hindu culture still stands supreme. Most of the world will soon be ruined by violence and greed and godlessness, but I have hoped that there would be a remnant, no matter how small, in India which would keep its spiritual anchorage and be an island of hope and spiritual insight which may once more be the source of life and sanity for the stricken world.

"More than anyone else, you represent that Hindu culture, and the continuance of your life is of great importance to all the world. Even though for a time the number of those who agree with you and truly follow the road of *ahimsa* may shrink to only a handful, the very smallness makes possible an enhancement of quality and spiritual power. Then when mankind have learned better out of their suffering, (it seems to be the only way most of them can learn), they will turn again to the spiritual sources. We may not tell God that if violence (the folly of men) does not stop within a certain time that fits our hopes, we will stop doing our utmost including living as long as we can in order to do our utmost. I only dare say this to you because I want you so much to stay with us.

"Let me speak in a little more detail. Very careful economic studies over a long period of time

have shown that there are several waves or cycles or rhythm of economic activity of various kinds. There is a 54-year rhythm of wholesale prices, an 18-year cycle of real-estate activity, a 9-year wave of another sort, and a still other variety of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. All the great depressions have been governed by these. All these cycles reach their lowest point in 1951-52. We are now entering what will probably be the severest economic depression that industrial nations have ever experienced. It will engulf the United States as well as all other nations. With the present dependence of Great Britain on economic aid from the U. S., the inevitable recession of that aid will, I believe, put an end to British interference in India. If another war, such as now seems likely between the United States and Russia, occurs, there will be the end of the present Western civilization and the dominance of the White man over the world. I think that Hindu India can then lead the world out of the holocaust. That is my hope. I beg of you, please try to live out all those 125 years so that you as God's servant may play your part in that supremely important time. India and the world will need you then even more than now. Because this is a moral world governed by God's laws, mankind must suffer by its continued violation for centuries of these laws, especially by the governments of the nations. The sufferings are terrible to contemplate, but if they did not come, it would indicate that this is not a moral universe after all. So, the very suffering is a proof of our optimism, our belief that God's laws prevail and can no more be successfully violated than man can violate the force of gravitation.

"God bless you and keep you. Please, please, reconsider your discouragement and keep on living for the rest of the world as well as India. As I wrote to you in my last letter, there is always violence during and soon after the transfer of political power between nations and groups. When the thirteen American colonies broke away from Britain in 1776, we had our riots and fighting too. It was called Shay's rebellion. All history shows similar phenomena throughout the West, and enough of India has been infected by the Western ideas that it follows. But I hope the infection will end when the next war comes and Indians see beyond any doubt where irreligious Western culture leads."

The dispatch from which Mr. Gregg quotes is substantially correct. The loss of hope arises from my knowledge that I have not attained sufficient detachment and control over my temper and emotions which entitle one to entertain the hope. One day I found to my cost that I had not attained the required detachment. No one has the right to live at all unless it is a life of service. And a man without detachment in terms of the *Gita* cannot render full service.

A faithful confession of one's failings is good for the soul. It enables one the better to get rid of those failings. Let the readers of the *Harijan* know that I am making every effort to get out of them so that I can regain the lost hope. In this connection I should also repeat that the hope is open to every one who dedicates himself to the service of his fellowmen. Nor need it be laughed out as an idle dream. That it may not be realized in me and many fellow aspirants should be no proof of its futility.

The statement that I find no place for myself in a society that bases itself on violence has nothing to do with the reported loss of hope. I deliberately use the adjective 'reported' for I do not want to harbour the thought of hopelessness. What was true when the report was made, need not be and, is not true in an equal measure today.

It must be clear that there can be no place for a man of peace in a society full of strife. Yet he may live the full span of 125 years and may hope by ceaseless striving to make a place for himself. That is exactly the meaning of my second statement and no more. I am in that society, though not of it. The statement registers my protest.

Has the non-violent effort of the past 30 years come to naught? I have already argued out the position in my speeches reported in these columns. It is to be hoped that the violence has not penetrated India's villages. Be that as it may, I wholly endorse Mr. Gregg's warning that "we may not tell God that if violence (the folly of men) does not stop within a certain time that fits our hopes, we will stop doing our utmost including living as long as we can." I very much fear that the dispatch in question tore the sentences out of their context and evoked the doubts expressed by Mr. Gregg. I hope I am incapable of judging God.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47

AMIDST THE REFUGEES AT HARADWAR

Several refugees from the Frontier Province and some from the Punjab had seen Gandhiji at the Bhangi Colony and told him their tale of woe. They pressed him to visit the camps at Haradwar. Consequently he motored to Haradwar on the 21st instant with Pandit Jawaharlalji. He took me with him for medical inspection. The refugees at Haradwar are distributed in five or six camps. Their number was 32,000 on the day Gandhiji visited the place. I went to all the camps. With the exception of the camps run by the Marwari Relief Society and the Birla Brothers which are catering for small numbers, the conditions were not satisfactory. Men, women and children lay huddled together in the midst of dirt. Flies swarmed all over the place. Sanitation and medical facilities were poor. It was said that there were 400 to 500 pregnant women among the 32,000. So far as I could see there were no arrangements for their care.

There should be arrangements for regular D. D. T. spraying of the camps as a safeguard against cholera and better sweeper service should be ensured. The refugees should organize sanitation squads from among themselves. There is no reason why the refugees should not be organized to give all the necessary labour for the camps.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47 S. N.

WEEKLY LETTER

PUBLIC FASTS

A young Maharashtrian couple wrote to Gandhiji that their inner voice had directed them to fight against the division of India and, therefore, they wanted to go on a fast which they would break only if Pakistan was undone. They wanted to fast in Gandhiji's camp and asked for some place to stay. Gandhiji told them that he was not staying in his own house and he could not offer them hospitality in a place where he himself was a guest. So the couple went on a fast in front of the Bhangi Colony. Addressing them in the prayer gathering Gandhiji said that the parties did not know the science of public fasts. So far as he knew it, the fast would be wholly unjustified and wrong. It could produce no effect on him, much less on others. He could only dissuade the couple from the false step. He advised them to follow the course he had suggested, namely not to divide themselves from their Muslim brethren and sisters but regard themselves as one, and, if their example was followed by all the inhabitants of the Union, Pakistan would be wholly inoperative. If the hearts of the non-Muslims were sound, the physical partition could produce no ill effect. He, therefore, invited the couple to devote their energy in the constructive channel he had indicated. He admitted that time seemed to be running against them but that only meant that their faith was on its trial.

The couple wrote back to say that they could not go against the dictates of their conscience and break their fast. Addressing them again on the second day Gandhiji said that all possessed a conscience but it was not fully awakened in all. Could a thief claim to be following his conscience when he committed theft, or could the maddened Hindu and Muslim mob claim to be acting according to the dictates of their conscience when they killed each other and butchered innocent children?

He claimed to know more about the science of fasting in India than any one else, and practically all those who went on a fast followed his advice. The latest instance was that of Kausambiji who gave up his fast unto death at the speaker's behest. In his opinion the couple were wrong in persisting with the fast and he requested them to give it up. They were young and inexperienced. He appealed to them to listen to the advice of one grown old in the knowledge and technique of fasting. He suggested that their conscience was asleep. It was no use learning scriptures by heart parrot-like. Man could only live according to them if he had digested what he had read. Only then would his conscience be really awakened.

The advice had the desired effect and the couple took some milk and fruits in our camp at night. They wrote to Gandhiji that henceforth they would devote themselves to the constructive effort prescribed by him.

PARTITION IN A BROTHERLY SPIRIT

A note appeared in the Press that the Muslim League and the Congress members of the Partition Committee had agreed before the Viceroy that the partition would be effected in a brotherly spirit. It was a good thing that H. E. the Viceroy had been able to achieve. But he knew that sweet words buttered no parsnips. He would dance with joy when he found a series of acts following the words. The world was tired of eloquent speeches and writings. Both the things were overdone. Hunger was appeased by even a dry crust of bread without butter but never by honied promises.

TRAVANCORE AGAIN

Travancore delegates to the A. I. C. C. saw Gandhiji on his silence day. They told him that there had been no exaggeration in what he had said about the suppression of the State Congress in Travancore. Meetings were held, lathi charges made and 35 persons arrested on the previous day. Free expression of opinion was being gagged. Be that as it may, he was convinced that a declaration of independence was of no consequence in an independent India. Such a declaration was tantamount to a declaration of war against the free millions of India. Such a thing was inconceivable especially when the particular prince had no backing of the people of his State. The audacity of such a declaration was amazing. It was possible when the actions of the Princes had the backing of the British power. "If I am not mistaken things have changed," he said. Who was to become independent? The Princes or the people? His advice to Sir C. P. and all other Dewans was that if they were loyal to their Princes they should advise them to join the Constituent Assembly.

DOCTRINE OF TIT FOR TAT

Babu Purshottamdas Tandan visited Gandhiji on his silence day. He said that he did believe in training in arms for the people, but it did not mean that he believed in the doctrine of tit for tat. He regarded it a vicious doctrine. Gandhiji was pleased to have the emphatic repudiation and invited Tandanji to state his views for the public on the doctrine of tit for tat and the limitations he conceived to be possible on the use of arms.

Referring to the same subject he told some refugees: "Muslims are your brothers. If anyone sinks to the level of the beast, it does not follow that all should do likewise. The Muslims cannot go on killing you. No one can live on killing. If a Muslim kills me, what will he gain so long as I remain without any hatred in my heart? Love alone can win over hatred."

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS

Khwaja Saheb Abdul Majid came to see Gandhiji during the week and expressed a hope that the Nationalist Muslims won't be neglected by the Congress. Like Gandhiji, who claimed to be a good Hindu and therefore a good Muslim, Parsi etc., Khwaja Saheb claimed to be a good Muslim and therefore a good Hindu and a good Parsi, Christian etc. "This means," said Gandhiji, "that for God-fearing men all religions are good and equal, only the followers of different religions quarrel against one another and thereby deny their respective religions. I hope those in the

Union of India would be worthy of their faiths and would be proud to call themselves sons and daughters of the same soil, claiming perfect equality in the eyes of the law. Religion is no test of nationality but a personal matter between man and his God. In the sense of nationality they are Indians first and Indians last, no matter what religion they profess."

Answering another correspondent, who had expressed fear with regard to the fate of the Nationalist Muslims in the Union of India, he said that the Union of India had to show by its action that no matter what was done in the so-called Pakistan Provinces, the Union Provinces would be strictly just and fair in their treatment of their Muslim brethren. Pakistan should make no difference in their regard for the Muslims as well as the other minorities. This had no reference to the apples of discord which the foreign power had thrown in their midst such as separate electorates.

POTENCY OF PRAYER

On the 18th instant Gandhiji and Badshah Khan met Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah at the Viceroy's House and in accordance with the arrangement at the meeting Badshah Khan later met the Qaid-e-Azam at the latter's house. Badshah Khan was straining every nerve to find some means of avoiding bloodshed in the N. W. F. P. Gandhiji asked the audience to pray with him for the success of Badshah Khan's mission. But he warned them against disappointment, if their prayers were not answered in the way they might have expected. If they were inclined to judge God that way, they were much mistaken. God answered prayer in His own way, not theirs. His ways were different from the ways of mortals. Hence they were inscrutable. Prayer presupposed faith. No prayer went in vain. Prayer was like any other action. It bore fruit whether we saw it or not and the fruit of heart prayer was far more potent than action so-called.

THE PROBLEM OF N. W. F. P.

Referring to the movement for a free Frontier State called Pathanistan, Gandhiji said that the movement had come to stay for it was a solid movement. If it was an anti-Indian movement, it was a bad and mischievous thing. If it was meant to conserve, as he thought it was, Pathan life and culture, it deserved every encouragement. Geographically it was only a bit of India; numerically too the Pathans were very few compared to the millions of India. But their warlike qualities and their position on the map of India gave them an importance all their own. The Frontier was a Congress Province. It was so when the Congress was in the wilderness. And it was now too when it was in power. It was also represented on the Constituent Assembly. But now it was face to face with a delicate position. There was the referendum immediately to be held. Both the Congress and the League were committed to it. It was not open to any one party to vary the terms. The issue was to be Pakistan or Hindustan. This had a sinister meaning in the context of what had happened in front of them. Were they to be with the Hindus or with the Muslims ? The Congress was not a Hindu organization. It never was and he hoped never would be. But how could the Pathan mind grasp the difference in the midst of confusion becoming worse confounded from day to day. He would advise the Congress to make its position clear and would ask the Muslim League to do likewise. Let both honour the Pathan sentiment and let the Pathans have their own constitution for internal affairs and administration. It would promote Pathan solidarity, avoid internal conflict, retain Pushtu culture and the Pushtu language. If they could do that they would be better able unitedly to federate with Pakistan or the Union of India. And this he would advise whether there was or was not a referendum. Any premature referendum would be a leap in the dark.

S. N.

A MAN OF PRAYER

Badshah Khan is a man of few words. There is always a sense of joy in seeing this tall figure, typical of the race to which he belongs, walking with or talking to Gandhiji.

Recently the issue of the referendum has been worrying Badshah Khan immensely. "I am a man of peace. I cannot bear the thought of a fight between Pathan and Pathan." This is the sole thought in his mind today, how to avoid bloodshed among those who are his kith and kin and among whom he has been as one that serveth for all these long years.

On saying goodbye to me last evening he said: "Pray for us. We are going to have to face terrible times." Badshah Khan is nothing if not religious and he believes in the efficacy of prayer. It was sad to see him anxious. But withal one could sense also the courage of his race within him and the courage born of faith in his cause — the cause of the solidarity of the Frontier Province. Many criticized him for going to Jinnah Saheb's house. But just as pride and violence go together so humility is the first essential of the non-violent man. What mattered it if by going to Jinnah Saheb's house and having a talk with him the lives of many Pathans and the integrity of the Frontier Province might be saved? It was no confession of defeat of his cause that took him there. Badshah Khan is the uncrowned king in the hearts of thousands of his followers because he is their servant and the crown that service gives cannot be taken away by any outside force.

New Delhi, 22-6-'47 A. K.

THE NATION'S VOICE
(Second Edition)
[Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn — September to December 1931]
Edited by
C. Rajagopalachar
and
J. C. Kumarappa
Price *Rs. Three* Postage etc. *As. Seven*

EDUCATION IN HEALTH

The other day three Seventh Day Adventist friends came to see Gandhiji and presented a book to him called *The Ministry of Healing*.

There is much in the book that is in keeping with Gandhiji's ideas on nature cure. There may be nothing new in the following gleanings for the readers of the *Harijan*. But they can bear repetition.

"The true physician is an educator . . . he stands as a guardian of both physical and moral health. It is his endeavour not only to teach right methods for the treatment of the sick, but to encourage right habits of living and to spread a knowledge of right principles." In spite of the wonderful progress in the comforts and conveniences of life and the advance in sanitation and the treatment of disease, the writer deplores the alarming decline in physical vigour and power of endurance. "Our artificial civilization is encouraging evils destructive of sound principles. Custom and fashion are at war with nature."

A scathing indictment is made of the wide use of poisonous drugs. The physician should teach the people that restorative power is not in drugs, but in nature. "Pure air, sunlight, abstemiousness, rest, exercise, proper diet, the use of water, trust in divine power, these are the true remedies." Everyone should know how to use nature's remedial agencies. Her process of healing and upbuilding may appear to be slow, the surrender of harmful indulgences requires sacrifice, but in the end nature, it will be found, does her work wisely and well.

Prevention is better than cure and it is therefore "the duty of every person for his own sake, and for the sake of humanity, to inform himself in regard to the laws of life and conscientiously to obey them. . . . Health does not depend on chance. It is a result of obedience to law." That law, the writer affirms, "is the law of God." Its principles are as everlasting and inexorable as God Himself.

The first virtue to be fostered is man's power of self-control. In the wake of that power follow purity and freedom from every depraving appetite and defiling habit. But "no genuine reform can be effected apart from divine power."

The author dilates on the corroding influence on both soul and body that the use of tobacco and drink brings. The book is written for the West but smoking and the drink habit are evils to be guarded against in our land. It is sad to see today boys of tender years picking up cigarette ends from the streets and smoking them and even, sometimes, begging for a cigarette rather than a pice!

Wrong habits of eating, drinking, dressing and working are responsible for much disease. "God has endowed us with a certain amount of vital force. He has also formed us with organs suited to maintain the various functions of life and He designs that these organs shall work together in harmony. If we carefully preserve the life force and keep the delicate mechanism of the body in order, the result is health; but if the vital force is too rapidly exhausted, the nervous system borrows power for present use from its resources of strength and when one organ is injured, all are affected."

Intemperate eating must be avoided. Fasting for a couple of meals or a fruit diet for a few days or even total abstinence from food for a short period have often brought relief. "The path of self-denial is the path to health."

Rest, freedom from care, and a spare diet are prescribed as remedies for the overworked. "Pure water is one of heaven's choicest blessings." It should be drunk freely; its proper external application is one of the best ways of regulating the circulation of the blood. Cold or cool baths are a tonic. Warm ones open the pores and aid in elimination of impurities. Both soothe the nerves. The writer complains that water treatments are not appreciated as they should be because their skilful application entails work.

The benefits of exercise are second to none. Inactivity is a fruitful cause of disease. It is seldom necessary even for a confirmed invalid to suspend all activity. Even those who have overtaxed their physical powers should not be encouraged to forego manual labour entirely. And of all forms of exercise the writer would give first place to walking inasmuch as it brings all the muscles into play and the lungs are forced into healthy action.

The reaction of the mind on the body is emphasized. "Courage, hope, faith, sympathy, love, promote health and prolong life. A contented mind, a cheerful spirit, is health to the body and strength to the soul."

"The physician, therefore," says the writer, "should educate the people to look from the human to the divine." He should direct his patients instead of relying on doctors to go to Him who can save to the uttermost all who call upon His name. "It is a law of nature that our thoughts and feelings are encouraged and strengthened as we give them utterance. While words express thoughts, it is also true that thoughts follow words."

What else does this signify except the power of healing in *Ramanama* of which Gandhiji has written and spoken so often?

Delhi, 20-6-'47

A. K.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
NON-VIOLENCE	... M. K. GANDHI	209
NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE	... S. N.	209
A PROHIBITION ANTHOLOGY	... V. G. D.	210
PATTING OURSELVES ON THE BACK	... J. C. KUMARAPPA	210
STORY HOUR	... V. G. D.	211
SWADESHI	... M. K. GANDHI	211
TOWARDS REALIZATION	... M. K. GANDHI	212
FROM AMERICA	... M. K. GANDHI	212
AMIDST THE REFUGEES AT HARADWAR	... S. N.	213
WEEKLY LETTER	... S. N.	214
A MAN OF PRAYER	... A. K.	215
EDUCATION IN HEALTH	... A. K.	216

Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Kalupur, Ahmedabad.
Subscription Rates — INLAND One year, Rs. 6: Six months, Rs. 3: FOREIGN : One year, Rs. 8 or 14 sh. or. $ 3.